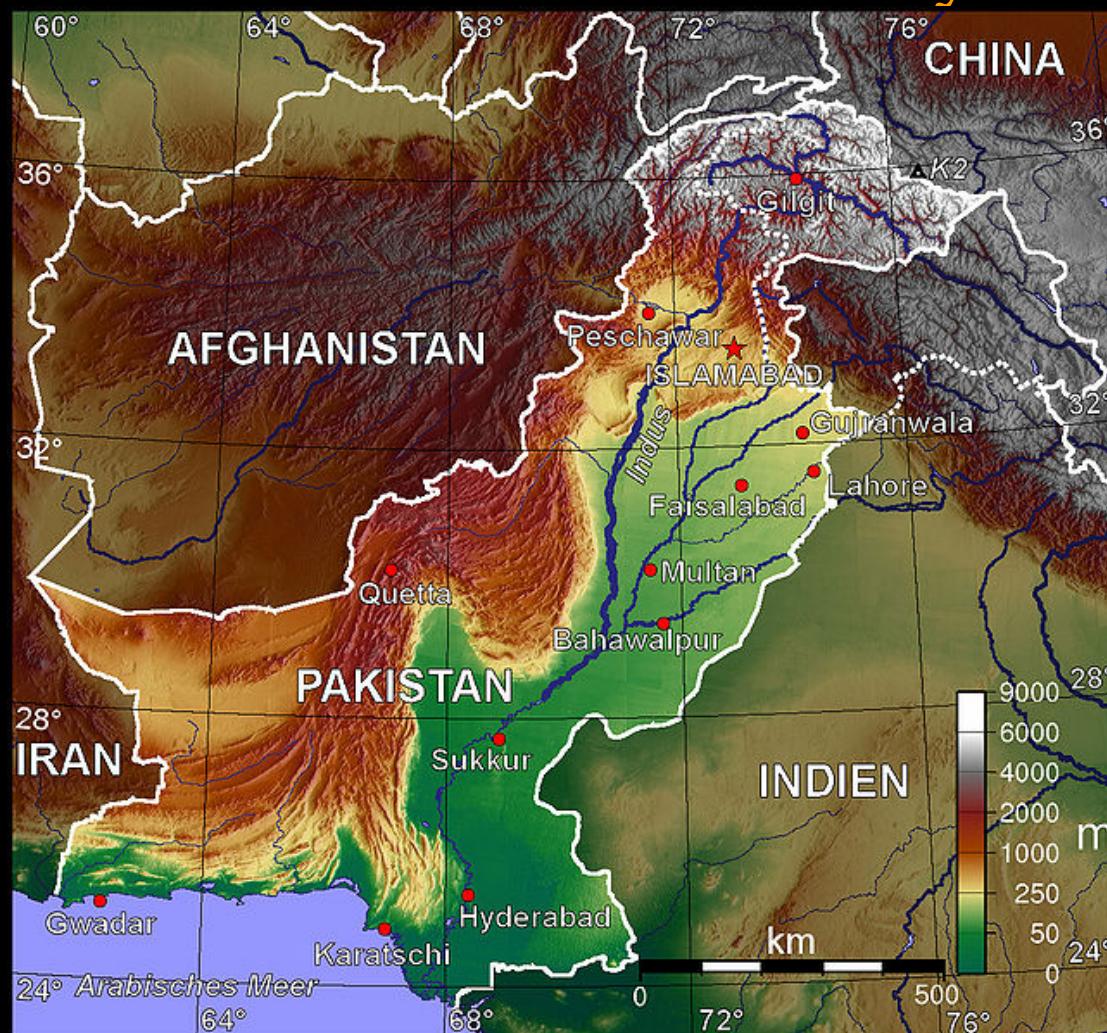


# Pakistan's Impact on Afghanistan

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## Report Documentation Page

*Form Approved  
OMB No. 0704-0188*

Public reporting burden for the collection of information is estimated to average 1 hour per response, including the time for reviewing instructions, searching existing data sources, gathering and maintaining the data needed, and completing and reviewing the collection of information. Send comments regarding this burden estimate or any other aspect of this collection of information, including suggestions for reducing this burden, to Washington Headquarters Services, Directorate for Information Operations and Reports, 1215 Jefferson Davis Highway, Suite 1204, Arlington VA 22202-4302. Respondents should be aware that notwithstanding any other provision of law, no person shall be subject to a penalty for failing to comply with a collection of information if it does not display a currently valid OMB control number.

1. REPORT DATE <b>OCT 2009</b>	2. REPORT TYPE	3. DATES COVERED <b>00-00-2009 to 00-00-2009</b>		
4. TITLE AND SUBTITLE <b>Pakistan's Impact on Afghanistan</b>			5a. CONTRACT NUMBER	
			5b. GRANT NUMBER	
			5c. PROGRAM ELEMENT NUMBER	
6. AUTHOR(S)			5d. PROJECT NUMBER	
			5e. TASK NUMBER	
			5f. WORK UNIT NUMBER	
7. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES) <b>Concordia University,1455 De Maisonneuve Blvd. West ,Montreal, Quebec H3G 1M8, Canada ,</b>			8. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION REPORT NUMBER	
9. SPONSORING/MONITORING AGENCY NAME(S) AND ADDRESS(ES)			10. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S ACRONYM(S)	
			11. SPONSOR/MONITOR'S REPORT NUMBER(S)	
12. DISTRIBUTION/AVAILABILITY STATEMENT <b>Approved for public release; distribution unlimited</b>				
13. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES <b>Counterinsurgency Leaders? Workshop, 27-29 Oct, Fort Leavenworth, KS</b>				
14. ABSTRACT				
15. SUBJECT TERMS				
16. SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF:			17. LIMITATION OF ABSTRACT <b>Same as Report (SAR)</b>	18. NUMBER OF PAGES <b>71</b>
a. REPORT <b>unclassified</b>	b. ABSTRACT <b>unclassified</b>	c. THIS PAGE <b>unclassified</b>		

# Summary

- Cause of the Afghan War
- What Pakistan wants
- Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan

# Conventional Wisdom

## Soviets caused Afghan War

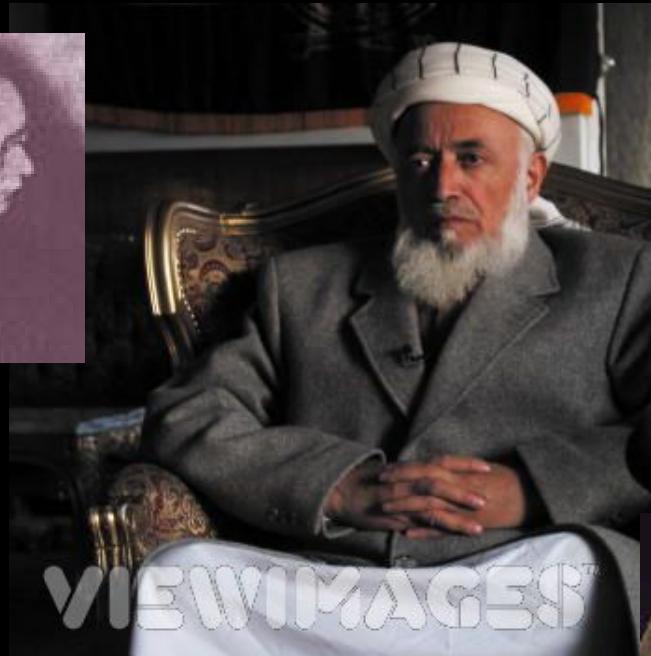
- Soviet invasion Dec 1979



# Start of the Afghanistan-Pakistan War

- July 17 1973: Afghan President (king's cousin and brother-in-law), Mohammad Daoud
- **Pakhtun separatist policy** + Marri and Mengal Baloch sanctuary (1974-1977) Pakistan

# Islamists opposed Pashtunistan Organization of Muslim Youth 1969



Gulbuddin Hekmatyar

- Rabbani
- Sayyid Qutb of al Azhar University in Cairo
- jahiliyya

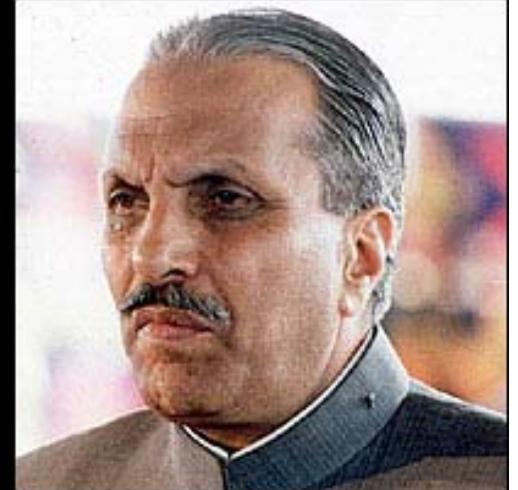


# Z.A. Bhutto and Mujahideen

- 1973-74: Provides stipends, weapons and training
- 1974 Faizani coup fails
- 1975 Islamist Revolt failed; refugees NWFP
- Reorganize: Hekmatyar + Rabbani
- Bombings: Kabul + Jalalabad
- Pakistani and Afghan troops clash
- 1976 escalation Afghan + Pak sought invasion
- Bhutto asks Soviets to pressure Daud
- June/Aug 1976 Bhutto wins
  - Maintains support to Islamists

# Zia ul-Haq and Mujahideen

- 1978
  - Assassination provokes PDPA
  - Saur Revolution 80,000 refugees
  - Invite Pakistani Pashtun to Kabul
  - 8 training camps established in NWFP
- Jan 1979: 5,000 mujahideen attack Asabad
- April 1979: mujahideen attack Jalalabad
- March 1979: uprising fails: Kabul, Jalalabad, Herat: USSR intervenes 10 months later
- July 3 1979 – US enters the conflict (Brzezinski)



# Counterfactual

- If no Soviets, Kabul fallen in April 1982>April 1992 (=1929 revolt)
- Famines 1971+1972 + modernization v Islamists 1970
- **Why** Distortion: Cold War template + Afghan + Pak downplay local conflict
- **Solution:** treat it as the local war it is: get the parties to negotiate a settlement
- Mantra: Taliban victory in Afghanistan will collapse Pakistan



# Policy Panic: Myth of Pakistan's Imminent Collapse

- Barnett Rubin: “The stability of Pakistan, a nuclear-weapons state that has been the main source of proliferation over the past two-decades, is now at serious risk.” Mar 09 For Aff
- *The Economist* January 2008

# Paths of Pakistan's Collapse

- Military Islamist Coup
- Civil War – Pashtun v Punjab
- Islamic Electoral Victory

# Coup

- Pakistan army not coup-proofed
- Corps Commanders Conference
- coup is very difficult without their approval
- 8 coups: none successful without military approval

# Coups of Pakistan

1. Feb 1951 Pindi Conspiracy (failed)
2. Oct 1958 Gen Ayub Khan (mil > civ)
3. Mar 1969 Gen Yahya Khan (mil > mil)
4. Dec 1971 6<sup>th</sup> Arm Div Tikka Khan (failed)
5. Mar 1973 Military anti-Bhutto coup (failed)
6. Jul 1977 Zia ul-Haq (mil > civ)  
1988 assassination of Zia ul-Haq
7. Sep 1994 Gen. Zaheer-ul-Islam Abbasi (failed)
8. Oct 1999 Pervaiz Musharraf (mil > civ)

# Corps Commanders Conference

- Corps: 20,000 to 60,000 soldiers

Strike Corps North (1<sup>st</sup> Corps) – Mangla



10 Corps – Rawalpindi (protect GHQ, Kahuta); 111 Bde

31 Corps – Bahawalpur (Punjab)

2 Corps – Multan (Punjab)



4 Corps – Lahore (Punjab)



30 Corps – Sialkot (Punjab)

12 Corps – Quetta

5 Corps – Karachi



9 Corps – Peshawar



Northern Area Command - Gilgit.

Director ISI

Director MI (Military Intelligence)

# Self-Contained Military

- Military is self-contained
- Shaheen and Fauji foundation, hospitals, education
- Mercenary army – remains selective & voluntary  
no conscription.
- Cantonments, comptroller, contracts
- Most military believe in democracy (paradox).

# Anti-Military Factions & Nuclear Security

- Jamaat-i-Islami
- Ulema-i-Islami
- Tehreek-e-Nafaz-e-Shariat-e-Mohhamadi (mil)
- Sipah-e-Sahaba (anti-Shia)
- Tehreek-e-Jaferia (Shia)
- Lashar-e-Jhangvi (anti-Shia in S Waziristan)
- Jamaat ul-Fuqra
- Harkat-ul-Mujahideen Al-alami (assassination)
- Tehrek-e-Taliban-Pakistan

# Pakistan - Population Distribution

Punjab	90 million (also Seraiki)
Sindh	36 million
NWFP	23 million (Pashtun)
Mohajir (Urdu)	13 million (Karachi/Hyderabad)
Balochistan	6 million
FATA	4 million (Pashtun)
Hindko+Kashmir	8 million (NWFP/North Areas)

Total Population: 180 million (2009 est.)

Pakistan GDP US\$ 144bn; 50% rural; \$1,000 PPP/cap

# Ethnic Breakdown of Military

	1990	2005	Change
Punjabi	65%	43%	- 22%
Sindhi	15%	23%	+ 8%
Pashtun	14%	22%	+ 8%
Kashmiri	6%	10%	+ 4%

Punjabi Officers 1979 1990 2005  
Officers 70% 67% 67%  
(60% of population)

Pashtun: Officer Corps (22-25%), ISI (30-40%)

# Civil War & Pakistan Military

- 600,000 volunteers, 10 million dependents, PML-Q
- Based: rural Punjab (Salt Range) and NE Pashtun (Kohat and Mardan; Yusuf-zai)
- 28 div, 2,400 tanks, 4,200 artillery, 383 combat a/c
- Unlimited violence against Muslims:
  - Bengal
  - Baloch
  - Kashmir
  - Mohajir



# Civil War Scenario

- Pakistan's bureaucracy strong 1954
- Pakistan's army never loses CI
- Baloch five insurgencies: 1948, 1958-59, 1962-63, 1973-77, and 2002+ (Talibanizing)
- Suppressed 75 million Bengalis in 1970-71 with 40,000 soldiers, 10 million refugees

# Expert Counter-Insurgency

- None of the opposition groups are strong: mostly Pashtun, rest Punjabi.
- The Taliban problem is entirely a Pakhtun problem.
- Uprisings vs the Brits:
- biggest was in 1897 – Malakand Force: Swat
- Uprisings also in 1860, 1919

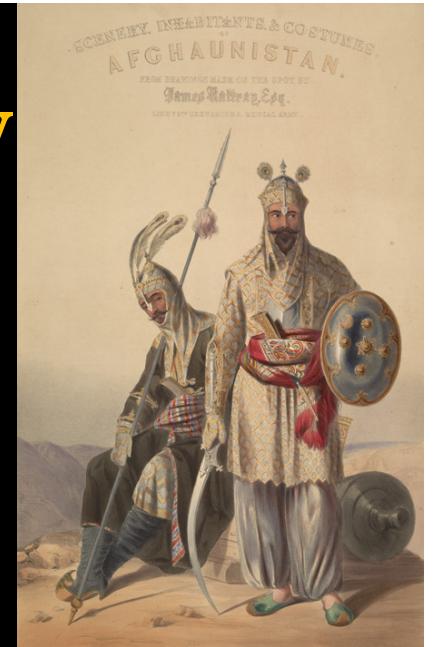
# Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Pashtun only crossed over the Indus three times:  
1761 (defeated the Sikhs)
- 1831 (disaster), 1919 (disaster)



# Expert Counter-Insurgency

- Afghan Ahmad Shah defeated the Sikhs at Lahore in 1761
- 80,000 strong Afghan Jihadis led by Sayyid Ahmad Barelvī in 1831
- Few thousand strong Afghan Jihadis led by Maulana Obaidullah Sindhi in 1919



# Major Political Parties

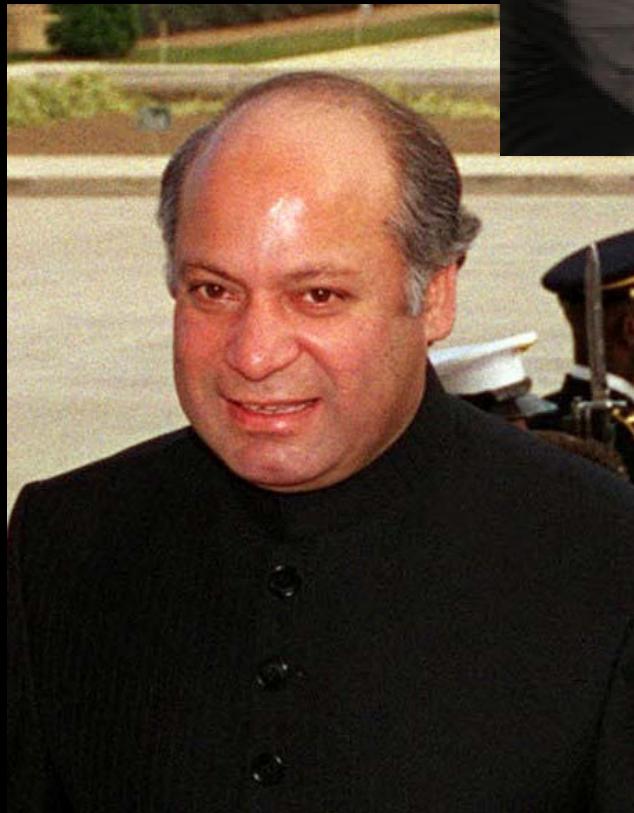
## PPP

- Ali Asi Zardari



## PML-N

- Nawaz Sharif



# Major Political Parties

## PML-Q

- Pro-military / feudal
- Chaudhry Shujaat Hussain

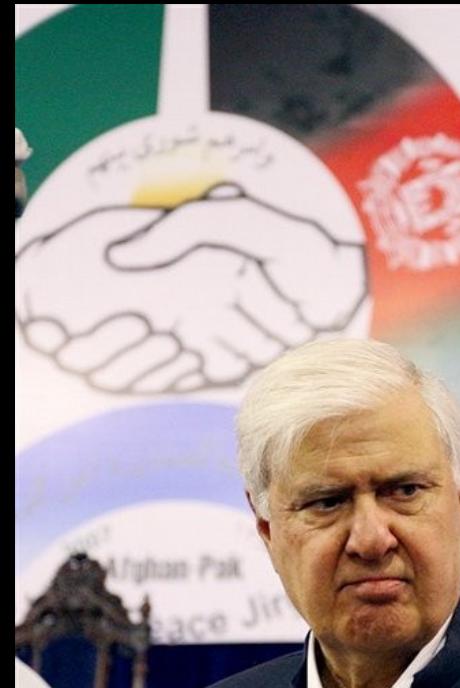
## PML-F (Functional)

- Breakaway faction from Sindh (not accepted by Nawaz Sharif)
- Pir Sahib Pagara



## PPP – (Sherpao)

- PPP Breakaway faction from the NWFP
- Aftab Ahmad Khan Sherpao



# Minor Political Parties

## **MQM (Muttahida Qaumi Movement)**

- Altaf Hussain (exile in London)
- Farooq Sattar Pirwani

# Failure to Challenge Islam

- MQM: Mohajir Party
- Urdu speaking immigrants, well educated, marginalized, Islamic state ethic
- Control Karachi (pop 18 million) and Hyderabad
- Islamic ideology of the state of Pakistan
- US seeking to engage the MQM because of control of Taliban drug routes

# MQM

- 45 killed single bombing, cricket match, kidnap foreigners, mil personnel, assass senator, bomb train, shut down US embassy in Karachi
- Violence 1986-2002: 1,000 killed
- Destroyed Karachi police – never defeated

# Nuclear Weapons



# Minor Political Parties

## **ANP** (Awami National Party)

- Cooperate closely with the PPP
- Senator Asfandyar Wali Khan,  
(grandson of Abdul Gaffar Khan)
- 4 million Pashtuns Karachi

## **MMA** (Muttahida Majlis-e-Amal)

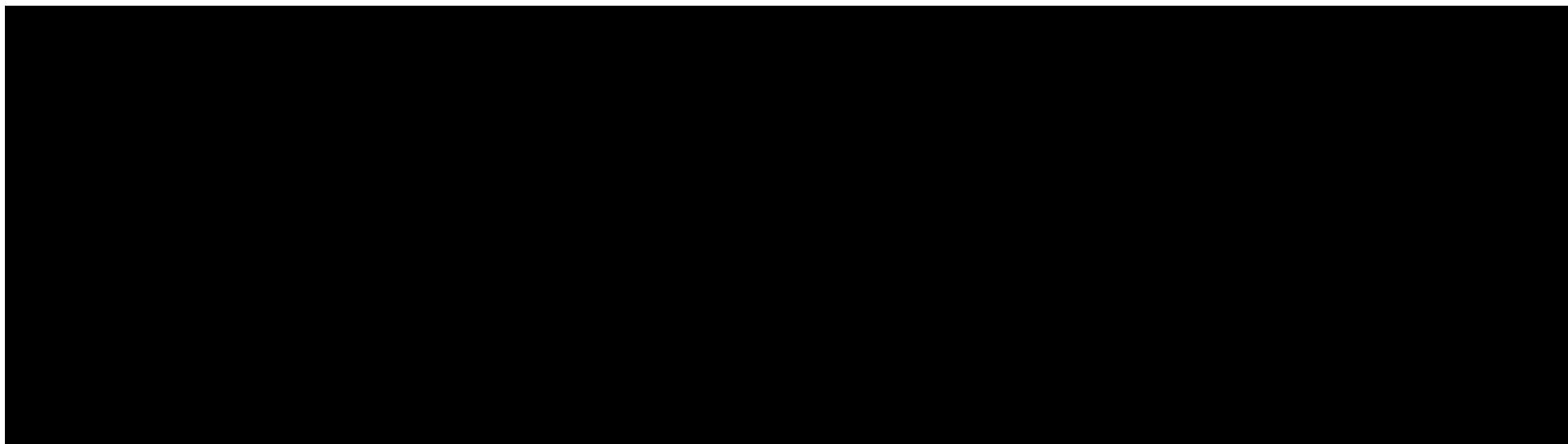
- Theocratic party
- Jamiat-i-Islami, Ulema-i-Islami, Jamiat Ahle-i-Hadith,  
JUI-F, Shia Tehrik-e-Jafaria

## **BNP** (Baluchistan National Party – Awami) – Sardar Akhtar Malik

**NATIONAL ASSEMBLY**  
**GENERAL ELECTION - 2008 --- PARTY POSITION INCLUDING RESERVED SEATS**

**Province-wise Breakup upto 07-03-2008**

Province	FATA	Federal Capital	N.W.F.P.			Punjab			Sindh			Balochistan			Non Muslims	PARTY GRAND TOTAL					
	1	2	3			4			5			6			7						
S #	Party Name		General Seats	Ind	Women	Total	General Seats	Ind	Women	Total	General Seats	Ind	Women	Total	General Seats	Ind	Women	Total			
1	PPP	0	0	9	1	3	13	44	5	12	61	29	0	7	36	4	1	1	6	4	<b>120</b>
2	PML-N	0	2	4	0	1	5	60	4	16	80	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	3	<b>90</b>
3	ANP	0	0	10	0	3	13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>13</b>
4	PML	0	0	3	0	0	3	28	0	7	35	5	0	1	6	4	0	1	5	2	<b>51</b>
5	MQM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	19	0	5	24	0	0	0	0	1	1	<b>25</b>
6	MMA	0	0	3	0	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	1	3	0	<b>6</b>
7	PPP-S	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
8	PML-F	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	3	0	1	4	0	0	0	0	0	<b>5</b>
9	NPP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	<b>1</b>
10	BNP-A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	1	0	<b>1</b>
11	Ind.	10	0	1	0	0	1	4	0	0	4	1	0	0	1	2	0	0	2	0	<b>18</b>
<b>TOTAL</b>		<b>10</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>137</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>181</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>72</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>331</b>



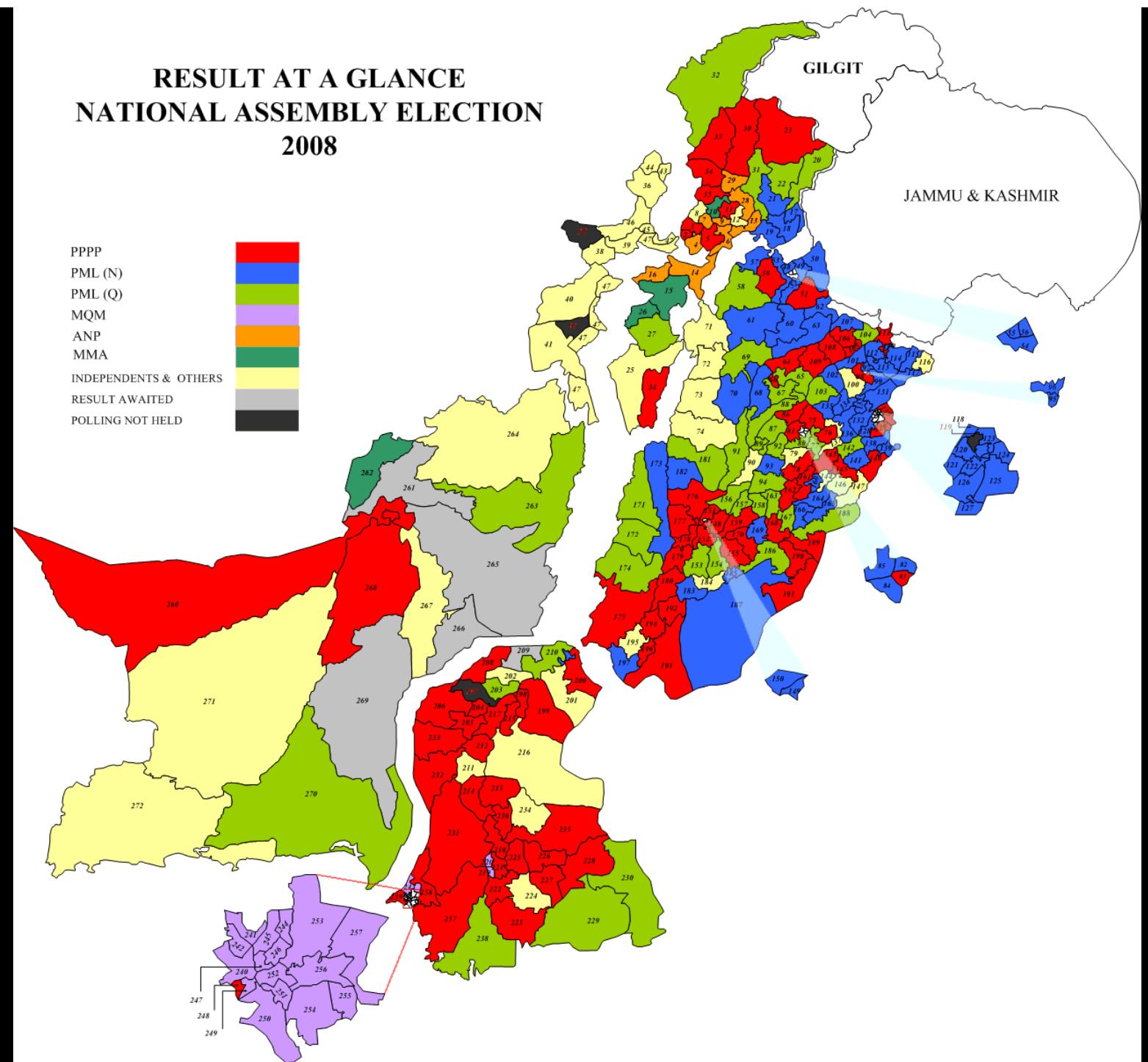
**PROVINCIAL ASSEMBLIES**  
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Province-wise Breakup upto 07-03-2008

Province	N.W.F.P.					Punjab					Sindh					Balochistan					PARTY GRAND TOTAL	
	1					2					3				4							
S #	Party Name	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	General Seats	IND	Women	Non Muslims	Total	
1	PPP	17	6	6	1	30	80	5	19	2	106	67	0	16	5	88	7	1	2	1	11	235
2	PML-N	5	2	2	0	9	104	27	30	4	165	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	174
3	ANP	31	5	9	1	46	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	1	1	0	4	50
4	PML	4	0	1	0	5	68	0	16	2	86	7	0	2	0	9	15	0	4	1	20	120
5	MQM	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	39	0	9	3	51	0	0	0	0	0	51
6	MMA	10	0	3	1	14	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	7	0	2	1	10	26
7	PPP-S	6	0	1	0	7	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	7
8	PML-F	0	0	0	0	0	3	0	1	0	4	7	0	2	0	9	0	0	0	0	0	13
9	NPP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	2
10	BNP-A	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	5	0	2	0	7	7
11	NP	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	1	1
12	Ind.	6	0	0	0	6	2	0	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	10	0	0	0	10	18
	<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>79</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>117</b>	<b>259</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>365</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>159</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>704</b>

# RESULT AT A GLANCE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY ELECTION 2008

PPPP  
PML (N)  
PML (Q)  
MQM  
ANP  
MMA  
INDEPENDENTS & OTHERS  
RESULT AWAITED  
POLLING NOT HELD



Party	1988	1990	1993	1997
Pakistan Peoples Party	93	44	89	18
Islami Jamhoori Ittehad (IJI)	54	106	0	0
Pakistan Muslim League (Nawaz)	-	-	73	137
Awami National Party	2	6	3	10
Muttahida Qaumi Movement (MQM)*	13	15	-	12
Jamiat-Ulema-e-Islam (Fazlur Rehman)	7	6	-	2
Other Parties/Independents **	38	30	42	28
Total Turnout	43.07%	45.46%	40.28%	35.42%
Total Seats	207	207	207	207

	<b>2002</b>	<b>2008</b>	<b>Votes</b>	<b>% Votes</b>
<b>PPP</b>	<b>80</b>	<b>120</b>	<b>10,125,390</b>	<b>32.70%</b>
<b>PML (N)</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>6,393,365</b>	<b>20.60%</b>
<b>PML (Q)</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>7,432,918</b>	<b>24.00%</b>
<b>PML (F)</b>		<b>5</b>	<b>707,760</b>	<b>2.30%</b>
<b>MQM</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>2,350,377</b>	<b>7.60%</b>
<b>ANP</b>		<b>13</b>	<b>573,440</b>	<b>1.90%</b>
<b>MMA</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>395,110</b>	<b>1.30%</b>
<b>Other Parties</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>3</b>		
<b>Independent</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>2,802,751</b>	<b>9.00%</b>
<b>Pending Results</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>10</b>		
	<b>Total</b>	<b>342</b>		

<b>Election</b>	<b>National Assembly seats won by NAP</b>	<b>NWFP Provincial Assembly seats won by NAP</b>	<b>National percentage of polled votes</b>
<b>2008</b>	10	31	?
<b>2002</b>	0	7	1.0%
<b>1997</b>	10	32	2.31
<b>1993</b>	03	18	1.67%
<b>1990</b>	06	23	1.68%
<b>1988</b>	02	10	2.80%

<u>PPP (Bhutto) Faction</u>				
<u>Name</u>	<u>Motive</u>	<u>Worth</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Industry</u>
<b>Asif Ali Zardari</b>	<b>Benazir husband</b>	<b>\$ 1.8 bn</b>	<b>2</b>	<b>Gov contract, Agro, M.E/West</b>
<b>Nasir Schon (Mohajir)</b>	<b>Sharif Exprop 1997</b>	<b>\$ 1 bn</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>Bank, textiles, real estate</b>
<b>Abdul Razzaq Yakoub (UAE)</b>	<b>Zardari associate</b>	<b>\$ 1 bn</b>	<b>7</b>	<b>Media, real estate, gold</b>
<b>Dewan Yousaf Farooqui*</b>	<b>Sindhi</b>	<b>\$ 800 m</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>Textile, automotive</b>
<b>Sultan Ali Lakhani*</b>	<b>Sindh/v mil anti-corrupt</b>	<b>\$ 800 m</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>Textile, consumer goods</b>
<b>Shimmy Querishi (USA)</b>	<b>Zardari associate</b>	<b>\$ 480 m</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>Banking</b>
*probable association				

<u>PML-N (Nawaz Sharif) Faction</u>				
<u>Name</u>	<u>Motive</u>	<u>Worth</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Industry</u>
<b>Mian Muhammad Mansha Yaha</b>	<b>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</b>	<b>\$ 2.5 bn</b>	<b>1</b>	<b>Textiles, constr</b>
<b>Nawaz Sharif &amp; Shahbaz Sharif</b>	<b>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</b>	<b>\$ 1.4 bn</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>Constr, Gov contract</b>
<b>Saddaruddin Hashwani*</b>	<b>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</b>	<b>\$ 1.1 bn</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>Hotel, textile</b>
<b>Tariq Saigol &amp; Nasim Saigol</b>	<b>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</b>	<b>\$ 850 m</b>	<b>9</b>	<b>Textile, banking</b>
<b>Abu Bakar Sheikhani</b>	<b>Business with N Sharif</b>	<b>\$ 600 m</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>Real Estate, Gwadar</b>
<b>Razzaq Dawood (UAE)</b>	<b>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</b>	<b>\$ 500 m</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>Construction, M.E</b>
<b>Jehangir Elahi</b>	<b>Brother of Mian Mansha</b>	<b>\$ 400 m</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>Power plants</b>
<b>Saddiq &amp; Sons*</b>	<b>Business with N Sharif</b>	<b>\$ 260 m</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>Sugar mills, real estate</b>
<b>Kasim Dada*</b>	<b>Bhutto Exprop 1970s</b>	<b>\$ 200 m</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>Auto parts, chemicals</b>
*probable association				

<b>PML-Q (Quaid-i-Azam - Musharraf) Faction</b>				
<u>Name</u>	<u>Motive</u>	<u>Worth</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Industry</u>
<b>Malik Riaz Hussain*</b>	<b>Military connections</b>	<b>\$ 800 m</b>	<b>12</b>	<b>Real estate</b>
<b>Javid Saifullah (Pakhtun)*</b>	<b>Military marriages</b>	<b>\$ 440 m</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>Textiles, telecoms</b>
<b>Noon family (Zamindar)*</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>\$ 380 m</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>Textile, construction</b>
*probable association				

<b>Unaffiliated</b>				
<u>Name</u>	<u>Motive</u>	<u>Worth</u>	<u>Rank</u>	<u>Industry</u>
<b>Sir Anwar Pervaiz (UK)</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>\$ 1.5 bn</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>Cement, UK</b>
<b>Rafiq Habib &amp; Rasheed Habib</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>\$ 900 m</b>	<b>8</b>	<b>Bank, Auto. Textile</b>
<b>Sheikh Abid Hussain</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>\$ 780 m</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>Real estate</b>
<b>Mian Mohammed Latif</b>	<b>---</b>	<b>\$ 700 m</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>Textiles, M.E</b>

# Why Poor Pakistan Policy?

- Canada NATO > Afghanistan
- US (speculation):
  - (1). Not provoke an Islamist coup
  - (2). Believe that Pakistan is not able to affect the Taliban
  - (3). Not provoke PRC (DPRK, Taiwan).
  - (4). Not provoke Saudi Arabia (key to Middle East).

# Pakistan's Allies

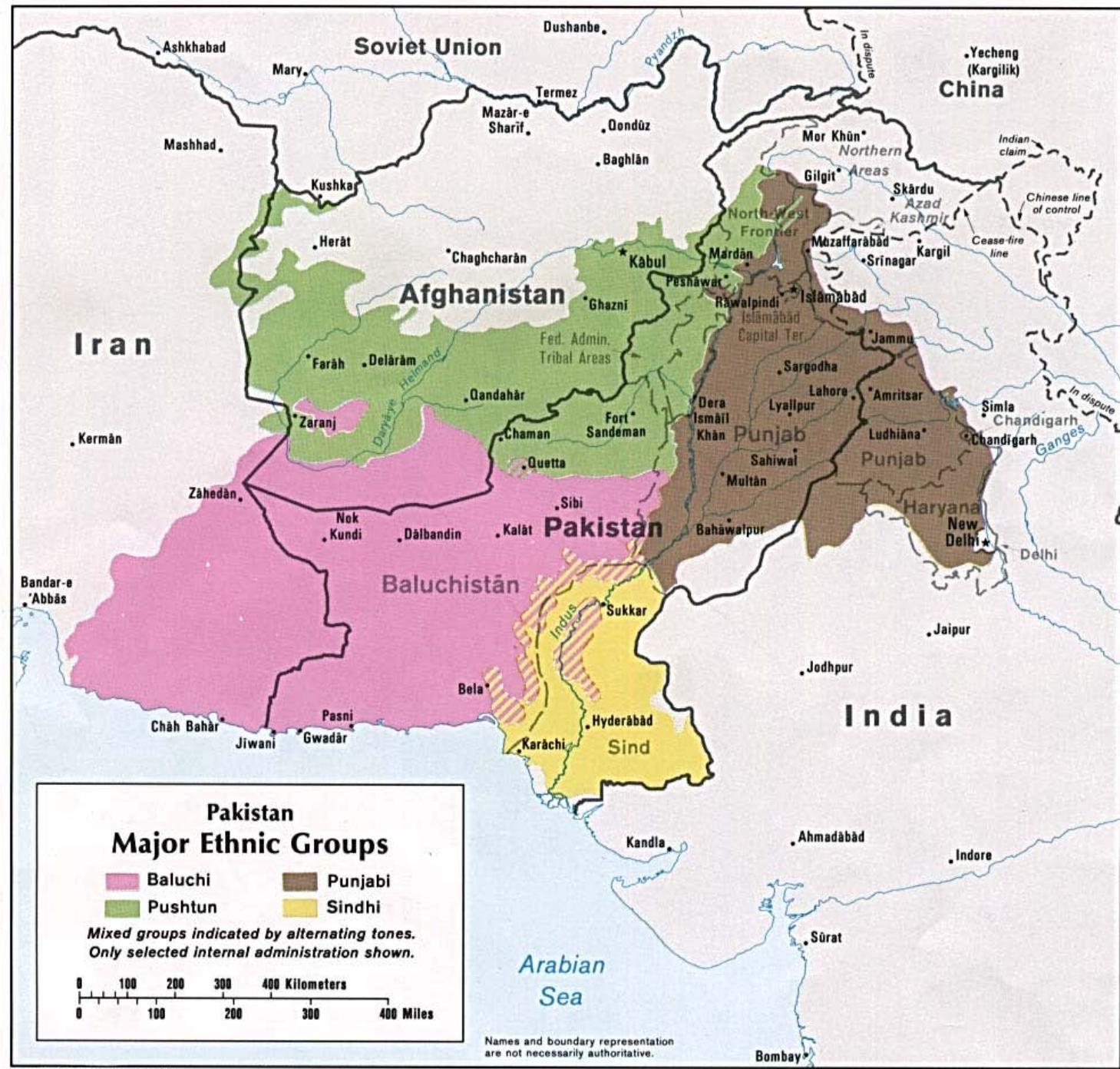


# What Does Pakistan Want?

Return to the state of affairs in 1963-1973

Cessation of support for Pashtun nationalism either:

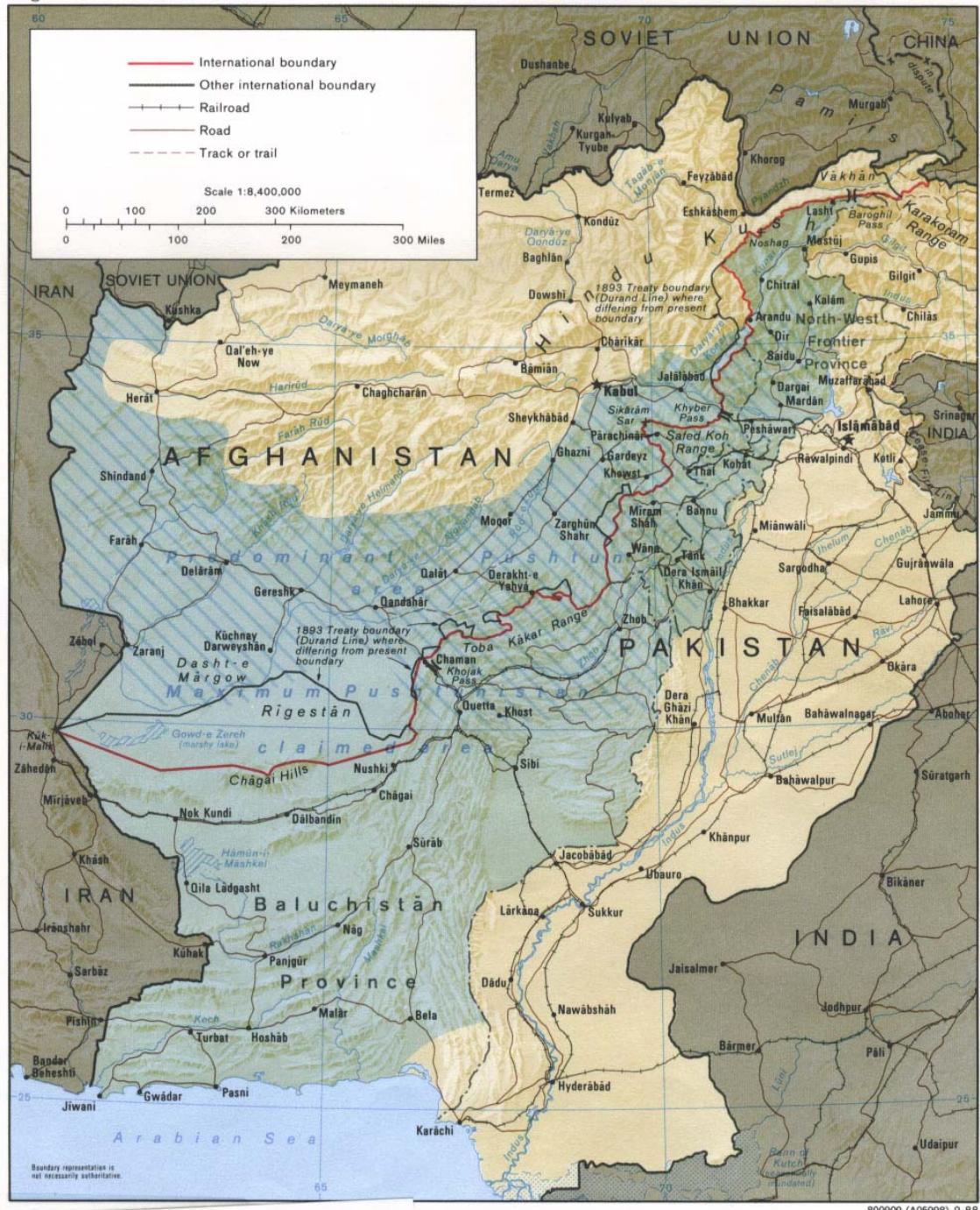
1. by having a strong Kabul or
2. weakening Kabul



- Dec 1947 demand access to sea
- 1947 Pakhtunistan Claim
- 1950-1960s “rough” frontier policing



### **Afghanistan-Pakistan Border**



# AFGHANISTAN 1772

# AHMAD SHAH DURRANI EMPIRE

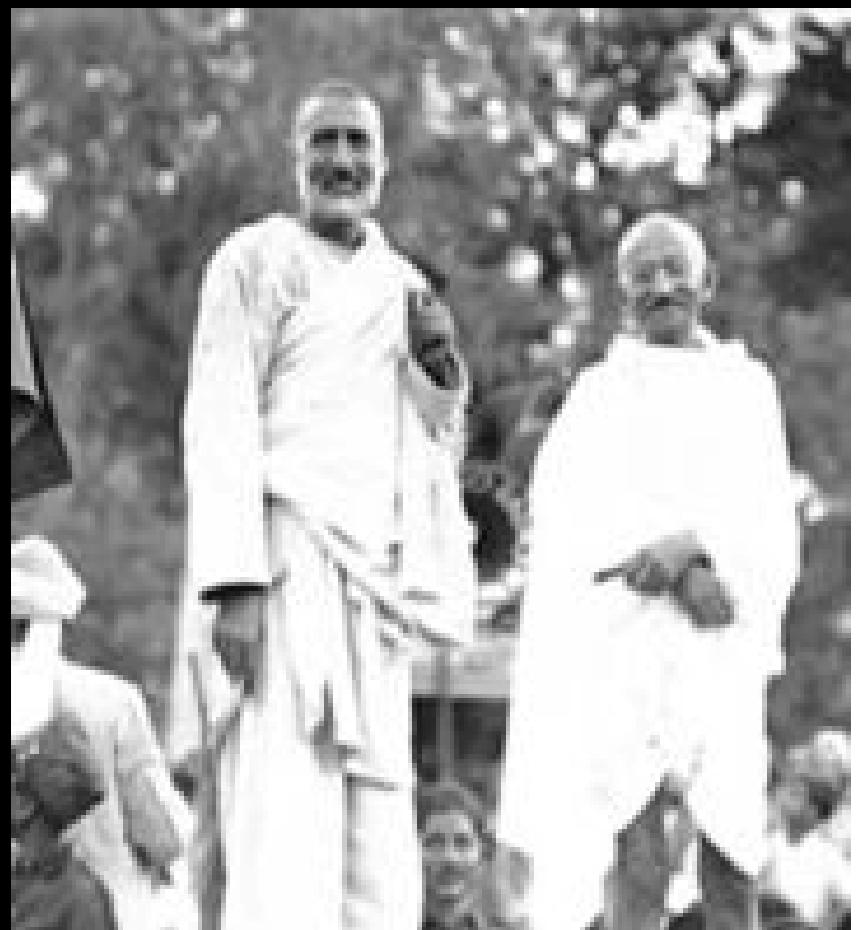
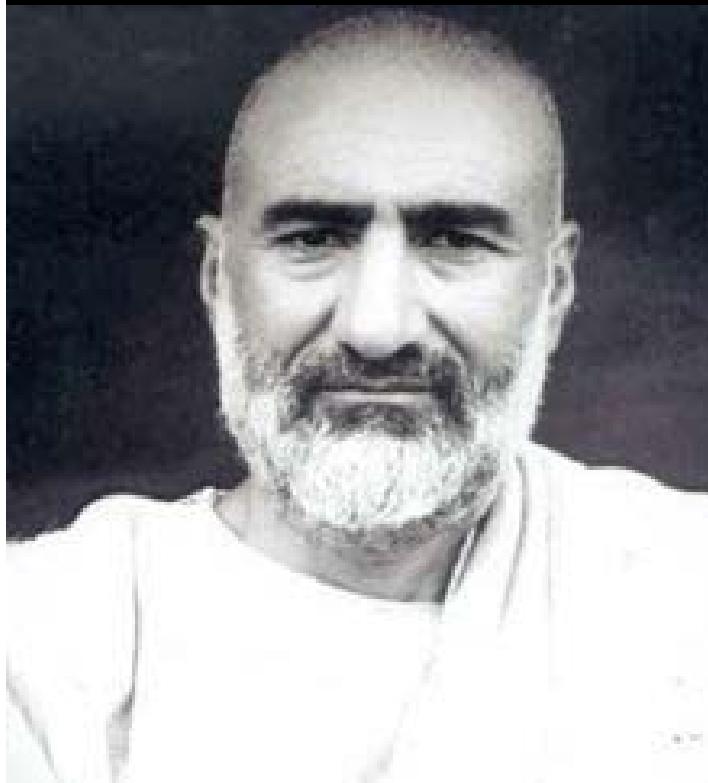
AFGHANLAND.COM

## China



# Partition History

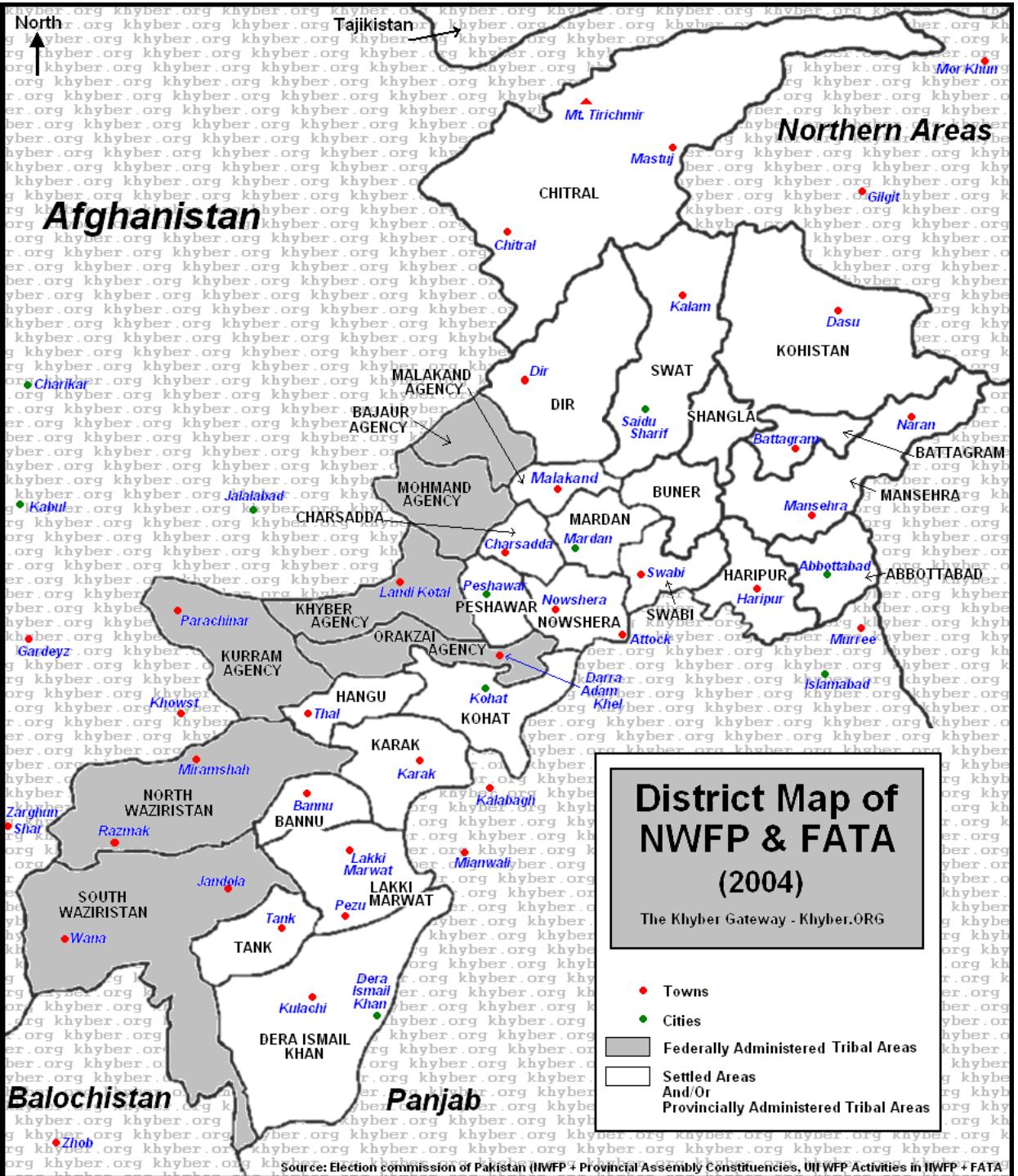
- Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan
  - Red Shirts
- Sardar Ibrahim
- Jihad in Kashmir 1947



# 1953 Prime Minister Mohammad Daud Khan



- 1951 Afghan Army infiltration
- 1953 P.M. Mohammad Daud Khan
- March 1955 70,000 Afghan mobilize
- Sep 1960 infiltration: Bajaur
- May 1961 infiltration: Dir
- Fall 1961
- 1962-1963 sporadic infiltration
- Pakistan:  
Lesson Learned:  
Local security



- 1963-1973 Royal Peace with Pakistan
- Afghanistan supports Pakistan 1965 & 1971
- 1973 Daud overthrows Zahir Shah



# Pakistan's War in Afghanistan

Causes:

1. Pakhtun Secessionism
2. Non-recognition of the Durand Line
3. Support to India

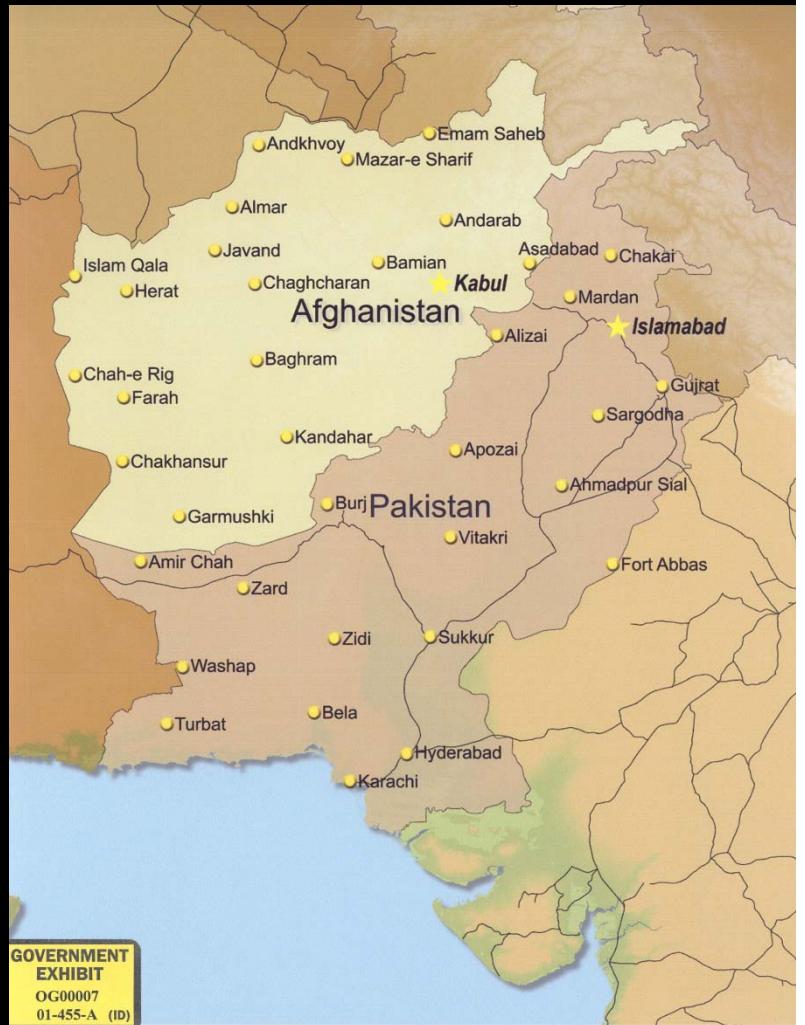
- 1995 - Zahir Shah
- 1996 – Benazir Bhutto supports Taliban
- Taliban never recognizes Durand Line



- Hakimullah Mehsud
- Tehrek-e-Taliban-Pakistan
- al Qaeda
- No separatists
- Swat (neutralize)
- Mohmand (victory)
- Bajaur (victory)

# Trade

- third party trade transit rights for Afghanistan to India
- economic development will fail
- 2009 Afghanistan Transit Trade Agreement ATTA
- Pakistan not permit direct road or rail to India
- Pakistan main trading partner (US\$1.7bn 2007),
- Re-exports, dumping



# Trade

- Kabul shift its trade northwards to Soviet Union
- trade embargo in 1961
- Resumed 1963 (Iran mediation)
- revised ATTA in 1965, never fully restored the status quo ante

# Strong Kabul

- If NATO can deliver a strong regime in Kabul strong enough to resist the temptation of stoking secessionism in Pakistan, then Islamabad will cooperate.
- Misconception: ISI Contact with Taliban
- Misconception: Afghanistan Support for suppression of Taliban:
- While the Kabul government accuses Pakistan of harboring insurgents in the tribal areas, it would be **the first to object to a military occupation and consolidation of control of those regions.**

# Failure to Engage Islam

- Why:
- (1). Fear of blowback
- (2). NATO is secular – not promote Islam
- Policy: patronage local sufi tariqas and pir shrines and families + urban Hanafi ulema
- Islam is malleable
- Pakhtunwali; Pashtun lashkars militia > tax

# The Deoband

- Quetta Shura – Deobandi – Mullah  
Mohamad Omar: Shura > Loya Jirga
- Jamaat-i-Ulema-e-Islam (JUI) party.  
access refugees madrassahs
- Deobandiism 1867 1831 Jihad Sayyid  
Ahmad Barelvi + 1857 Great Mutiny
- popular Pashtun beginning 20<sup>th</sup> Century

# Reaction to Decline

- Deobandiism Islamic reaction  
erosion Mughal power 18<sup>th</sup> century  
(Hindus)
- Mawdudi Jamiat-i-Islami  
bureaucrats turned religious leaders
- rise of European colonialism in the  
19<sup>th</sup> century.
- Muslims: how to recapture the  
greatness of their community.
- Paradise: martyrdom
- Islam: law > metaphysics

# Islamic Revival

- Faradiyah
- Mawlawi Sahri'atullah of Delhi in 1802 Mecca
- Wahhabi Hanbali fiqh Koran - ijtiihad
- Hanafi-consistent Koran and the Hadith, but stripped of Hindu + political role of Islam

# The Modern Reformers

- 19<sup>th</sup> century Jamal al-Din al-Afghani



# Modern Reformers

- Muhammad Abduh, al Azhar University Cairo salafist a Hanafi variant of Wahhabism
- Islamic code of the Arab Abbasid Caliphate, free of Sufiism and Persian influence
- Sayyid Qutb scholar of Abduh



# The Sufi and Pir Impulse

- most Sunni Afghans, rural and urban:  
Sharia + Sufi + local shrines + pir  
worship
- discouraged by formal Islam

# Sufi tariqa

- Three Sufi tariqas (orders)  
Afghanistan 500 yrs tradition:
- Naqshbandiya (especially Kabul)
- Qadiriya (eastern Pashtun and Kandahar)
- Chistis.

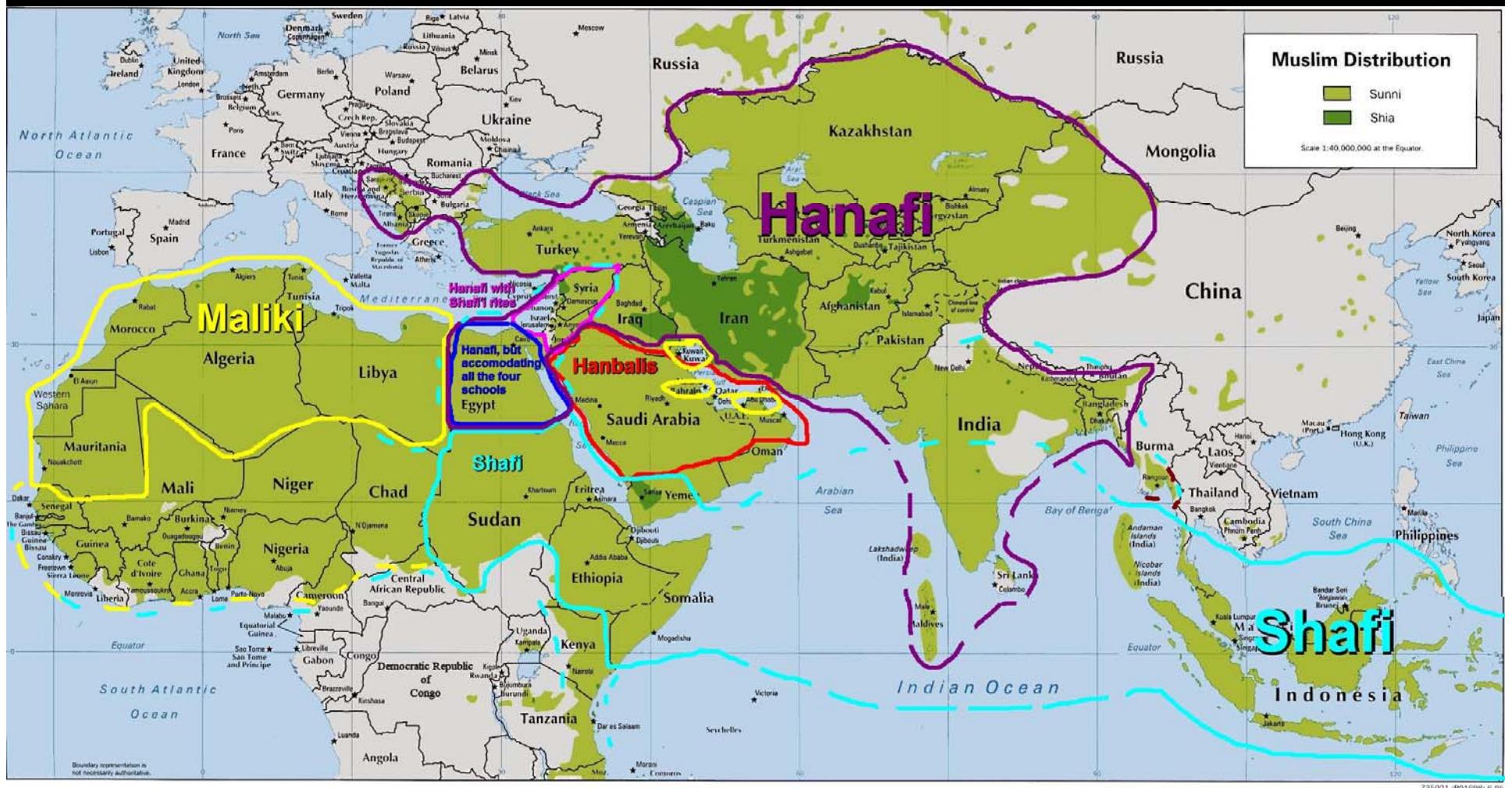


# Ijtihad and Ijma

- Afghans Hanafi (fiq): ijtihad (legal speculation) and ijma (consensus)
- rival strict Hanbali Arabia limited -ijtihad – Ijma

# Flexible Fiqh

- ijтихад + ijма adaptation of Islam in South Asia, Buddhist + Hindu influences



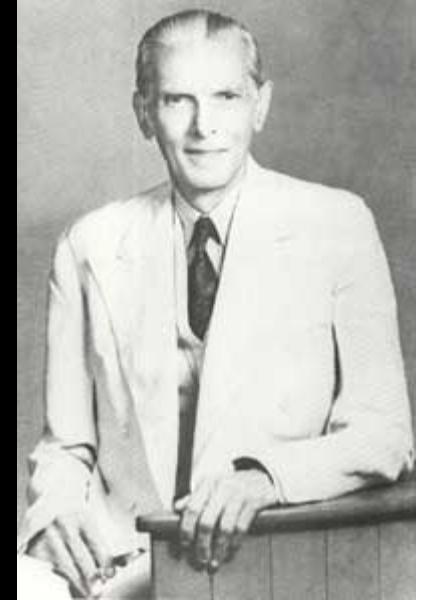
# Sufism stronger than Salafist

- Deobandism (Hanafi salafist)
  - = Hanbali fiqh v Sufism
- Ahl-i-Hadith, Hanbali
- Deobandi austere lifestyles of Pashtun refugees  
Deobandi rejection Sufism: will fail

	Ahmad Shah Durrani 1747-1773	Timur Shah 1773-1793	Amir Dost Muhammad Khan 1826-39, 1842-63	Amir Sher Ali 1869-1879	Abdur Rahman Khan 1880-1901	Amir Habibullah Khan 1901-1919	Amanullah Khan 1919-1929	Nadir Shah 1929-1933	Zahir Shah 1933-1973
									
Ascend	Elected	Son	---	Son	---	Son	Son	War Hero	Son
Rule	Draconian	Unstable	Orderly	---	Draconian	Static	Unstable	Stable	Autocrat
End	Assass	---	---	---		Assass	Exile	Assass	Exile
Base	Tribes	Tribes	Urban	Urban	Urban	Urban	Army	Army	Family
Tribe	Durrani	Durrani	Durrani	Durrani	Durrani	Durrani	Durrani	Durrani	Durrani
Religion	Patron	Jihad	Strict	---	Dominate	Dominate	Revolt	Accomodate	Restless
Legitimacy	---	---	---	---	Divine	---		Weak	Challenged
Revenue	Booty	---	---	---	Trade	---		Bacha	Trade
Taxation	Failed	---	---	---	---	---		Saqqao	---
Bureaucr.	---	---	---	Founded	Strengthen	Independent		Bankrupt	Police
Army	---	---	---	---	Conscription	---	Revolt	40,000	Modern
Law	---	---	---	---	Reform	---	---	Hanafi	Rights
Durrani	---	Revolts	---	---	---	---	Revolt	---	---
Ghilzai	Weak	Subdue	Subdue	---	Relocated	---	---	---	---
Tajik	Defeat	Subdue	Reassertion	---	Suppress	---	Revolt	Crushed	---
Uzbek	Defeat	Subdue	Reassertion	---	Crushed	---	---	---	---
Hazaras	Defeat	Conquer	Subdue	---	Crushed	---	---	---	---
Qizilbish	---	Privileged	Privileged	---	---	---	---	---	---
Reform	---	---	---	Education	Koranic	Limited	Women	Limited	Women
Aid	---	---	British	British	British	Turkish	British	British	Soviet,US
War v India	8 attacks	---	Sikhs	1839-42, 1878	---	Cautious	1919	---	---

# Failure to Engage Islam

- **Malleability**
- Islam in Afghanistan 1200 years
- end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Abdur Rahman Khan Pakhtunwali > Sharia family law
- 1931 Nadir Shah legalized Hanafi fiqh
- Mughal UK patronage sufi shrines rural counter balance Islamic revivalism
- Anglo-Oriental College Aligarh + Muslim League v Islam created Pakistan



# Failure to Engage Islam

- Sufi tariqa:
- Habibullah Kalakani, a Tajik of the Naqshbandiya tariqa, 1929 Jihad
- Mawlana Faizani, Qadiriya tariqa pirs v. PDPA (People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan)
- Naqshbandi + Chisti, tabligh > NATO
- Ulema passive v colonialism ; no converts during colonialism.

# Failure to Engage Islam

- India and Pakistan: Barelvi: Pir Jamaat Ali Shah (Qadiri tariqa pir) joined Naqshbandi + Imam Ahmad Reza
- decline of Islam Hanafi Sharia ulama through sufiism
- fight Deoband Hanbali Ahl-i-Hadith control of mosques, fatalities
- Aid: Pakistan Barelvi India Chisti



# Limits of Islam

- Hekmatyar's Hizb-e-Islami Gilzhai
- communist, self-admitted nationalist

# Conclusion

- Cause of the Afghan War
- What Pakistan wants
- Engaging Islamic ideas in Afghanistan